Before 1865 there was not much danger from enemies of any kind and co-
operation for protection was not necessary. After this date raids made it dangerous
for families to wander alone and modifications had to be made in the old way
of life.

There were no true chiefs in the early period. Men were needed to head the
antelope and rabbit hunts, but these men were picked for their skill or because they
owned the nets; they were not necessarily consulted on other subjects. In general
the older, more experienced men advised people when to settle down for the winter
and when to break up camp and go after the different foods; but they had no
authority beyond that which the wisdom of their advice bestowed upon them.

The continual wandering of the people was not always confined within the
boundaries described above. Sometimes families wandered off into the terrain of
other bands to visit relatives, and sometimes even spent the winter there. Adoles-
cents often traveled in groups to see the world and returned with wives from other
bands. Later they would return with their families to visit their in-laws or would
take up residence in the other band for a period of years.

Such were the conditions which existed before the founding of the Malheur
Reservation and the radical changes which came with the settlement of white
ranchers in Harney Valley. Before the whites actually moved into the valley their
effect was felt. The bands to the east, west, and north were forced toward Wada-
dika land. By 1860 most of the Indians in Oregon, with the exception of the
Paiutes, were supposedly settled on reservations. The Juniper-Deer-Eaters, who
centered around the Crooked River to the south of the Molala and Tenino, were
already on the Warm Springs Reservation, but they were the only Paiutes on reser-
vations until 186-, when the Yahuskin band (Yapa Eaters band) agreed to move
on to the Klamath Reservation. According to the report of C. J. Kappler in the
records for the 57th Congress,[1] a treaty was made in 1865 with the Woll-Pah-pe
tribe of the Paiutes, whereby they ceded their land to the government and agreed
to take up residence on the Klamath Reservation. The area designated as the
habitat of this band included the land owned by the Hunibui Eater and the Elk
Eater bands. Whatever the treaty may have been, all the members of these bands
did not move to the Klamath Reservation. It would seem rather that few if any
of them went. In the later reports of the Malheur Reservation, Chief Weewa and
Chief Oites and their people are cited as being one of the bands of Paiutes on this
reservation and they belonged to the band which ceded this land to the government
in 1865. What actually seems to have happened is that after they signed the treaty
they were forced to leave the land which had been their habitat, and instead of
moving to Klamath descended south into the vicinity of Drewsey and the head-

[1] As cited by G. P. Brimlow, in *The Bannock Indian War of 1878* (Caxton Printers, 1938), p. 29. Kappler reference cited as C. J. Kappler, "Indian Affairs, Laws and Treaties," Sen. Ex. Doc. 452, Ser. 4234, 57th Con., 1st Sess., Vol. 2, p. 671 (1903 edition).

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sary for coping with sickness; these in turn impose responsibilities and potential danger. Consequently, the possession of supernatural power signifies to the Paviotso more than is suggested by the term "guardian spirit."[7]

The central idea in the acquisition of supernatural power is dream experience. Often these dreams come unsolicited to a prospective shaman. In addition to these involuntary experiences, dreams may be deliberately sought in a number of places in the mountains. Supernatural power may also be inherited, but it is in dreams that the power is actually bestowed on the heir. It is, then, through the experiences in dreams, which may either be sought or may be spontaneous, that a shaman characteristically acquires his power. One shaman may say that power came to him unasked, another may claim to have inherited his power, and a third relates that he acquired power in a certain cave in the mountains. Still, each gained a supernatural spirit as a familiar and as a powerful ally in certain undertakings, also an exacting and cruel taskmaster, through the same medium. In short, all shamans gain power from a fundamentally similar experience, differing only in the way in which it is initiated.

Supernatural power is usually acquired after maturity. Children were known to have had shamanistic power, however, and even to have doctored the sick. One such case was reported at Pyramid Lake.

> I have seen boys who were about twenty or twenty-five get power and start doctoring, but a young doctor is not powerful. When a shaman gets to be sixty or seventy he knows everything. Then he is a very strong doctor. (Joe Green)

Life crises, such as puberty or the period of mourning for husband, wife or child, are not recognized as times when shamanistic power is to be acquired or lost. Those who seek dream-experiences in caves are always adults. Statements of informants indicate that

[7] Throughout this discussion, the term "power" will be used to designate not only those spirits which give supernatural aid to the shaman, but also the special restrictions and responsibilities placed on recipients of supernatural visitations. It is felt that the term "guardian spirit" implies a somewhat different relationship between an individual and his supernatural familiar. See, for example, Ruth Benedict's *The Vision in Plains Culture*, 13 f., for a statement of the relation that exists in the western Plains between an individual and the spirit that has blest him, also the same author's *The Guardian Spirit in North America*.